CATHOLIC SEPARATISM
– John J. Kan

THE

Commonweal

Britain and The Far East

by Harold C. Hinton

Two Kinds of War

by William Pfaff

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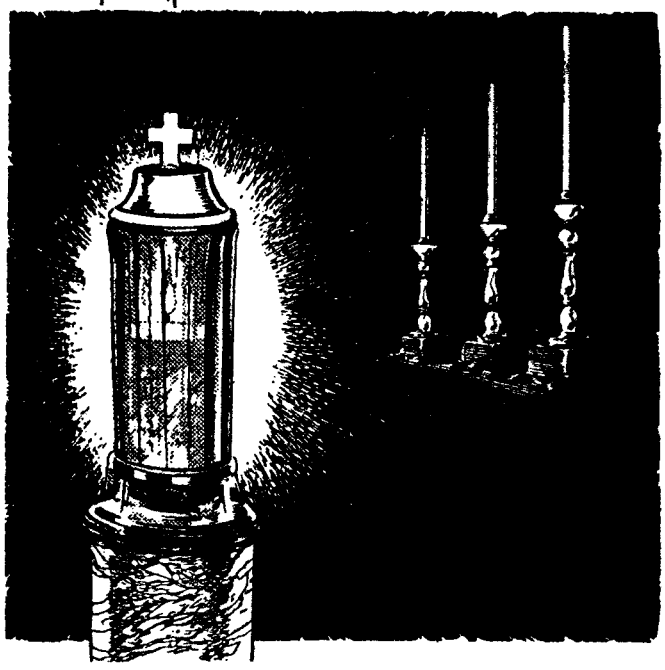

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THE Commonweal

week by week

BALANCING THE BOOKS

THE UN has been unable to win a total victory in Korea, and it would be foolish to claim complete satisfaction with the way things have gone there. But there is even less justification for those who regard the three years of war as a waste and refer to our intervention as part of "Truman's folly."

Perhaps the best way to measure the value of Korea is to imagine what the world would be like today if Communist aggression there had been allowed to go unchecked. If we had failed to meet the challenge, the Soviet Union would surely have been led to believe that it could go on from one easy conquest to another. The whole of Asia might well have fallen into Communist hands, and in the end, the result could only have been Soviet domination of the world or World War III.

Considered in this light, the decision to halt the Communists in Korea ranks in importance with the conception of the Marshall Plan and the vigor of our assistance to Greece. Critics of the truce and those opposed to the entire war have joined hands to make much of the fact that unification of Korea by the UN military forces has now been abandoned. But there are two sides to this coin. If it is true that UN forces have been unable to unify the country, it is also true that the Communists have been halted and have suffered losses they will not easily forget. To make the Soviet Union and its satellites know that there will be no more cheap victories is in itself a major accomplishment.

Outside of the South Koreans themselves, the United States has made the major contribution to the UN fighting in Korea. Although the British have been occupied with the forgotten war in Malaya and the French in Indochina, the contributions of certain other UN members have not been as heavy as might have been desired. But united action of this sort is something new on the face of the earth, and welding nations into one cohesive force cannot be accomplished overnight. Whatever the shortcomings in the UN effort, the fact that it moved at all is history-making, especially since failure to have acted would probably have been as fatal to the UN as impotence in the face of Mussolini's Ethiopian conquest was to the League of Nations.

No one would welcome an act of aggression like that which took place in Korea and which took thousands of lives and caused untold suffering. But once it occurred, there is no doubt that Korea wakened many people to the dangers of Communist attack. The realization of the need for self-defense, in the United States, in the NATO nations and in the still-free areas of Southern Asia, may to a large extent be traced to the shock of Korea. This awareness was so necessary that the Korean attack may go down in history as one of the great Communist mistakes of the post-war period.

THE signing of a truce in Korea will not usher in a reign of peace. Indeed, the truce brings with it dangers which may easily do more damage to the cause of freedom than the fighting itself. If we are not to throw away what has been gained in Korea, certain definite steps must be taken.

No effort should be spared in the rebuilding of South Korea. No nation enjoys being a battleground, even in the cause of freedom. The South Koreans have endured nobly in the last three years, and they deserve every assistance in recovering from the devastation their land has suffered. Failure to carry this task through would not only be unjust, but would discourage resistance by other small nations which may in the future be victims of aggression.

There must be no lag in the defense efforts of the United States and its allies. If we have learned anything by now, we should know that in the present condition of the world lack of defensive power constitutes an invitation to war, not a means to peace. To neglect our defenses now would serve as a temptation to further aggression.

In addition to preserving its military strength, it is imperative that the U.S. make a more determined and imaginative effort to gain the confidence of the non-Communist nations of Asia, where suspicion

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of U.S. motives and intentions is still strong. Instead of cutting back, we need increased emphasis on programs like Point Four and encouragement for every plan, private or public, which can assist economic development and provide the necessary material base for stable democratic governments in that area.

Finally, if the Communist intention is to use the truce in Korea as a screen for further adventures elsewhere, these moves must be countered just as quickly and just as vigorously as in Korea. Korea should have demonstrated to the Communists that aggression will pay no quick and easy dividends. If they have not learned that lesson, we must be prepared to meet their next challenge.

The truce in Korea should be regarded as a milestone, not the end of the road. The price paid for our success there was high. If we behave soberly, intelligently and courageously in the months ahead, something of great value will have been won.

A MATTER OF PERFORMANCE

IN the give and take of American political campaigns it is common enough to promise the voter the moon. Then, when his ballot is safely in, the obstacles to fulfilling such promises prove to be too great. This is a sequence that is unhappily too familiar. Only here and there are "campaign pledges" taken at their full face value any more.

The extent to which the new Administration is carrying out its promises to the voters therefore verges on the remarkable. And it may partially account for the fact that the President's personal popularity appears to be at its very peak. For much that has not already been put across seems on the threshold of accomplishment.

The new Cabinet has already gone a long way in the direction of reorganizing. Economies are evident at every hand. Congress gives every promise of cutting back expenditures for national defense, foreign aid and all sorts of domestic purposes. Tax cuts for individuals and enterprises are not far off. A process of decentralization was set off with a flourish with the transfer of title to the offshore oil lands from the federal government to the several coastal states. The Administration plans other steps to give more power to private enterprise and to local and state authorities at the expense of the national government.

The Eisenhower Administration has reached an agreement on the terms for a truce that will end the three-years fighting in the Korean War along lines for which the President has often spoken. That would serve as a climax to five months of extraordinary fulfillment of campaign pledges. And to it must be added the President's continual advocacy of greater international trades, support of the UN, aid for the underdeveloped countries and the continuing of a generally internationalist foreign policy.

Those who do oppose a number of measures in the Eisenhower program can hardly do so on the basis of a failure to live up to Republican campaign promises. It is rather because of convictions that certain of these promises themselves were mistaken. Some of these doubts are focused now on the attempt at this stage of the cold war to cut defense expenditures and foreign aid to the point that the budget can be balanced even with lower taxes. There are citizens who feel that certain campaign promises are being carried out all too well.

NEXT WEEK

NORBERT MUHLEN writes about the role of the German General Staff under Hitler.

"Their guilt had not been that they played a leading part in unleashing the Second World War—as even the international court in Nuremberg had to concede. Their guilt had been that—while they were in a position more responsible than most other Germans, while in their hands was actual power—they had shared the irresponsibility of most other Germans toward the community and common good, by being *unpolitische,* "unpolitical" specialists obeying those in authority in the State, rather than citizens obedient to the laws of their conscience. For some of these officers, the Nazi evil was an evil they committed; for others, an evil they underwent and suffered; for some others again, an evil which they bravely resisted."

ITALY'S ELECTION

PARTY politics in countries like France and Italy are incomprehensible in terms of the American experience. In Europe, men make their ideological commitments at a very tender age; at the universities students go in for genuinely passionate political debates at an age when most Americans are energetically non-political. European political parties are the expressions of a number of conflicting ideologies. A single political philosophy is seldom able to hold the allegiances of enough citizens for a sufficient period to sustain a clear parliamentary majority.

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Since government by coalition has come to be the only practical means available of securing working majorities, governments tend to be unstable. A rebuff on an important issue is sufficient to overthrow one regime and lead to the formation of a new one which for the moment appears to enjoy public confidence. Normally, parliamentary democracy in Western Europe is anything but a four-year (or a six-year) proposition.

It may therefore supply some consolation over here that the reverse suffered by the Italian Christian Democrats marks a return to a more normal pattern. Moreover, the turnout of ninety-three per cent of the voters sets a record for a free election. Besides, the Christian Democrats themselves did better than had been predicted for them, and their coalition came within fifty-seven thousand votes of winning the majority which would have brought with it two-thirds of the seats in the Assembly. (There is even an uncertain hope that the Credentials Committee may find these votes among the million and a third ballots which have been up to now ruled out.)

But when all these factors, and the likelihood of a new De Gasperi government, are weighed against the over-all results, the American-supported Christian Democrats suffered a genuine defeat. The Communists are understandably elated in that their coalition with the Left-Wing Socialists now represents more than a third of the Italian electorate. And the extent to which the precarious margin of sixteen seats now held by the four disparate Center parties can carry on Italy's functions in the European Defense Community is dubious indeed.

If, then, as it appears from these elections, the period of Italy's postwar American tutelage is about over, this country's task from this point on becomes primarily what we can do to make Italy stronger in her own right. It is doubtful whether the United States can ever become an adequate market for Italy's available fruit and vegetable exports. American tourism in Italy, even if on a grand scale, can hardly serve as a deciding factor in the difficult national economy. What remains is the opportunity to do considerably more about the historic peninsula's "surplus population," for despite every measure unemployment cannot be brought below the two million mark. American aid on the demographic problem would be twofold: accepting more Italians here and taking the lead in an international resettlement program of large proportions.

The influence of the United States upon Italian policy will have to be considerably more indirect from now on. The end result depends upon our tact and the success with which Italy meets her basic economic problem. It will likewise hang on the effect of our trade and our relations with other nations on the Continent. One basic objective of the United States all along has been a Western Europe that stands on its own feet.

EINSTEIN SPEAKS

IT is popularly believed that only a handful of men are able to understand Dr. Einstein's theory of relativity. As a result, comments on his recent remarks on Congressional committees are likely to come thick and fast, if for no other reason than the fact that people will enjoy being able to comment at long last on something said by Dr. Einstein.

Congressional investigating committees, Dr. Einstein said, have fallen into the hands of "reactionary politicians" who are busy in their efforts to kill academic freedom. American intellectuals should refuse to answer any and all questions put by such committees, in his opinion, and should be prepared to go to jail rather than cooperate.

Until Dr. Einstein came along, we thought we were fairly critical of the tactics of some of the investigators. But we cannot join him in his prescription for American intellectuals.

Eliminating genuine subversives and guarding against espionage are legitimate goals, and the power of Congress to investigate is a real one. Denial of these facts only aids those who are willing to employ any means against those they consider "subversive." What is at issue is not the right of Congress to investigate nor the duty of citizens to cooperate with the Government, but the serious abuses which have been practiced by a few legislators who turn the war against subversion into a vehicle for their own political advancement and who abuse their powers. It is at such abuses that criticism should be levelled, and we are afraid Dr. Einstein's remarks will only obscure this point.

THE PEACE OFFENSIVE

EUROPEAN Union seemed so imminent a year ago; hope was so green. Now hope is fading, and there is an edge of desperation in the voices of European statesmen. Pressure from the East has suddenly lifted: the neutralists are emboldened, the Adenauers and De Gasperis are undermined. Encouragement from the West has slipped away. The Americans seem irresolute, and their efforts are qualified by what, to Europeans, seems a growth of reaction and isolationist sentiment.

At a moment of decision in Europe, the eve of irrevocable commitments to the NATO army, the

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Russians launched a new peace offensive of deeds rather than petitions, and they have been so successful that one may question whether the damage can be repaired.

The Soviet's new policy has been remarkable. In Austria: There is a new Soviet civilian as commissioner. Travel prohibitions are lifted. Ambassadors are exchanged. In Moscow: There are signs of domestic moderation. Soviet newspapers now refer to Western nations by name rather than as "running dogs," etc. Statements by Eisenhower and Churchill have been reprinted in the papers. The Russians have made concessions to the Turks over disputed border areas. They have sent an ambassador to Yugoslavia. They have encouraged new trade agreements with the West. In East Germany: "Mistakes" have suddenly been discovered in the sovietization of the country. Expatriates are invited to come home. Agreement is made with the Protestant Church. Regimentation of farmers and small businessmen is reformed. Elsewhere in the satellite nations William Oatis has been released, Western correspondents have been invited to cover a peace conference, and there have been some domestic reforms. And most important, the Chinese Communists have at last been willing to talk business in Korea. The list is imposing.

By rational standards, the Soviets are breaking no new trails in international friendship. They are merely being less obnoxious than they were before. And they continue to hold East Europe in bondage, and run remote-control wars in Malaya and Indochina. But these latter facts are so much a part of normal life in 1953 that they are overshadowed by the concessions. And the concessions add up to the most formidable, and most shrewd, Russian offensive since 1945. They have paralyzed the politics of Western Europe.

The Russians may be expected to hold the offensive at least until the Bermuda conference. They can now say, "Eisenhower asked for deeds; he has them." They are not the specific deeds the President demanded, but they are undeniable concessions. And they will have to be met. The initiative has passed from us. Only Churchill has been keeping the West in the game. But unless Churchill and Eisenhower can come out of the Bermuda conference with a counter to the Soviets which offers real terms of negotiation—and to the public, real proof of Western sincerity—we may expect a further deterioration of the situation, and even greater vulnerability to the Russian attack.

If we can extract from the Russians in their new mood a hard solution to any fraction of the cold war, we will be that much ahead. If we cannot negotiate solutions with Russia, our own willingness must be evident to the world. We offer the negotiations on an Austrian treaty. The Russians refuse to attend. We ask what (if any) terms the Russians *will* accept for Austrian settlement. The responsibility lies with the Soviets.

That is the sort of approach we must make to all the newly-awakened problems. Only if we make our sincerity plain will Soviet insincerity come into focus, and only then will the weary peoples of the free world give up the toys of illusion and turn again to the bricks and mortar of union and strength.

THE PURGERS AND THE PRESIDENT

"DON'T join the book burners. Don't think that you are going to conceal thoughts by concealing the evidence that they ever existed." Those were the words of President Eisenhower at Dartmouth. To deny a man the right to believe what he must, and to refuse him a place in the libraries when he writes what he believes "is not American," said the President.

These are fine words, and deeply important today when the loud minority of those who convict by clamor and convince by censorship are riding high. What the President said is, we think, what the overwhelming majority of Americans believe.

But we still cannot help being disturbed. In State Department libraries throughout the world books *are* being removed from the shelves. Not only Communist books, but the works of such people as Bert Andrews, the conservative Washington correspondent of a Republican newspaper; General Joseph Stilwell; Walter White, the anti-Communist leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Pearl Buck, and Isaac Deutscher. These, as well as books which are either in any way favorable to the Soviet Union or critical of Nationalist China. Some of these are silly, some are slipshod, some are foolish. But they are books which express beliefs which men hold, and which they believed enough to put on paper. We are purging them.

The Information Administration of the State Department has apparently in recent months been operating on the principle of not offending anyone of any influence. They were in danger of ending up with libraries composed of *Tom Swift and His Electric Runabout, The World Almanac,* and *McCarthyism, the Fight for America.* It is now plain that their present policy offends someone of considerable influence: Dwight Eisenhower. We trust that they will think about what the President said, and take his advice.

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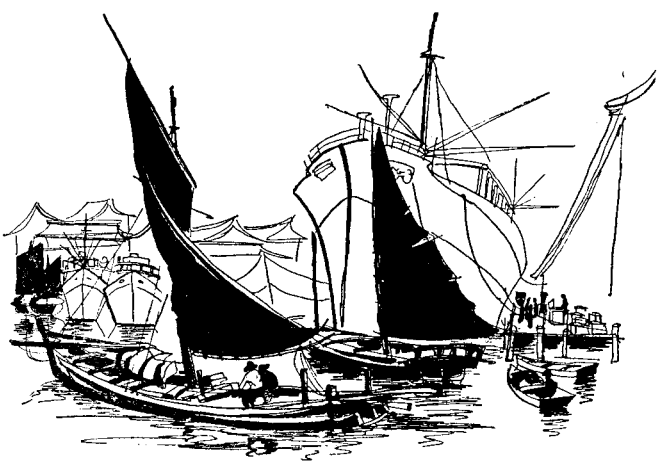
Britain and the Far East

AN ANALYSIS OF BRITISH OPINION IN AN AREA WHERE ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS ARE MOST STRAINED.

HAROLD C. HINTON

IT seems certain that the forthcoming conference in Bermuda between President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Churchill, and whoever happens to be Premier *pro tempore* of France will see discussion of the question of Far Eastern policy, for disagreements on this score have been one of the most troublesome controversies plaguing Anglo-American relations in recent months. The proposed conference, and Churchill's foreign policy speech in the House of Commons which led to it, have received general approval from British public opinion and the press. The main exception I have noticed is *The Economist,* which publishes the most penetrating political analyses to be seen on either side of the Atlantic, and which has voiced misgivings about Churchill's proposal for a conference with Malenkov on the grounds that in the long run it may prove only to be an embarrassment to Eisenhower.



Virtually everyone in England agrees with Sir Winston that the United States has borne most of the burden in Korea, but not all accept his conclusion that for that reason British views on the Far East ought to be correspondingly subordinated. Englishmen are keenly interested in the Far East, as I have learned on the occasions when I tried to explain American Far Eastern policy to a British audience, and they feel that their views are too little understood in the United States.

In England, as elsewhere, a man's outlook on the Far East is likely to be conditioned by his attitude toward the Cold War, and on this score there seems to be more anti-American, pro-Soviet, and (most noticeably) pro-Chinese Communist sentiment among the intellectuals and professional classes than among the workers. The former tend to resent the rawness and ignorance which they believe characterize the conduct of the United States as a world power, as well as its succession to Britain's formerly predominant position in war, diplomacy, and commerce.

I could give many examples of such an attitude from my experience, but one will suffice. I remember hearing a former civil servant, who is an authority on Malaya, praise the "New China," condemn what he alleges to be misrepresentation of it in the American press, but add that he felt critical of certain manifestations of the Chinese Revolution, in Malaya for example. I could not help concluding that he did not object to the shooting of Chinese by Communists, but only to the shooting of Englishmen and the destruction of British property. It is only fair to add that I have met others who take a very different view.

Among the workers, on the other hand—and in this respect Britain differs strikingly from several of the continental European nations—the United States seems to be relatively popular, and pro-Soviet sentiment relatively rare. For very few in Britain, regardless of class, does the ideology of Communism as such hold many horrors, for Englishmen tend to believe that others are as unfanatical in ideological matters as they are. There is much less discussion of oppression behind the Iron Curtain that one hears in the United States. There is no demand for outlawing the British Communist Party or for the investigation of alleged pro-Communists, and a few Communists teach unmolested in the universities. Still less is there any demand for an armed clash with Communism, in the Far East or anywhere else. This does not mean that the British people as a whole are pro-Communist; it is merely an indication of their traditional detachment from political matters which do not concern them immediately.

A member of the Georgetown faculty, Mr. Hinton recently returned from Cambridge, where he was engaged in advanced studies.

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TO the British public, the Pacific and the Far East seem less compellingly important than they do to most Americans. Britain's political influence and military power in the Far East, which were once preponderant, are now relatively small, and her main remaining interest is commercial. Her basic policy therefore is to seek peace and shun swashbuckling. Whatever she may have done when she was stronger, it is certainly true now that, as Sir Oliver Franks pointed out in a recent speech, the British prefer to seek their ends through compromise and diplomacy rather than by domination.

Britain's economic stake in the Far East is more important than ever to a nation faced with serious economic difficulties. Malayan tin and rubber are still among the sterling area's largest dollar earners, and Englishmen resent the trend in the United States toward the use of synthetic substitutes. Hong Kong is a natural *entrepôt* for the trade of China and Japan with Southeast Asia and the rest of the world, and British merchants regret the admittedly necessary embargo on shipment of strategic materials to the Chinese mainland. If American policy is to be one of neither trade nor aid, Mr. Attlee suggested in his recent controversial speech, surely the United States cannot blame other nations for buying and selling wherever they can, even behind the Iron Curtain when necessary.

The question of trade tends to color the British reaction to nearly everything that happens in the Far East. The Foreign Office is believed by many Englishmen to have recognized the Chinese Communist regime mainly because it felt that nonrecognition would not only be contrary to common sense and international law but might drive China into an unnecessarily and undesirably close alliance with Russia. That may be, but concern for the safety of Hong Kong and for the future of British trade and investments in China also must have been important factors.

In any event, Britain has gained little from recognition to offset the ensuing difficulties with the United States, for British enterprise is clearly being squeezed out of the Chinese mainland. The firms in question have been trying for some time to sell their assets in China, which are worth about a quarter of a billion dollars, but they may have to be written off. The firms are heavily taxed and compelled to import funds to pay large staffs of nominal Chinese employees, even when there is no work for them. However, hope springs eternal in the commercial breast.

The British government has complied with the embargo on shipment of strategic materials to China which was voted by the United Nations shortly after Chinese intervention in the Korean war. Every article exported from Hong Kong is carefully licensed and accompanied by certificates indicating its nature, origin, and destination. The British government reserves the right to decide what constitutes a strategic item, and it seems probable that differences of interpretation on this score account for the recent charges in the United States that British firms have been trading illegitimately with the enemy.

Common sense on the whole seems to be on the British side in this debate. China certainly receives all her military equipment, and probably most of her strategic materials (except for rubber) overland from the Soviet Union. A blockade of China, to be thoroughly effective, would have to strike at her landward communications with Russia, not merely at her coastline.

THE fairly widespread sympathy for the "New China" among British intellectuals springs mainly from the feeling, which also used to bemuse American liberals, that the Communists are making China into a great power after a century of kicking and cuffing by other nations. The British record in China during this period was far from perfect, and a sense of guilt helps to explain the friendly feelings with which many Englishmen regard the regime of Mao Tse-tung. The abundantly documented fact that the "New China" is not only growing powerful but is also rapidly becoming a full-blown totalitarian state does not seem to disturb its English friends. American publications which substantiate this fact are not widely read in England, for their cost is usually prohibitive.

If the regime of Mao Tse-tung is regarded with some approval in Britain, that of Chiang Kai-shek, which was never popular, is almost universally denounced as an anachronism, an absurdity, an American puppet, and a factor tending to disturb the Far Eastern situation and Anglo-American relations. The idea that this regime should continue to represent China in the United Nations strikes most Englishmen as ridiculous, although it is fairly generally understood that the disposition of Formosa itself presents a difficult problem in politics and diplomacy.

Very few in Britain seem to feel the almost total sense of involvement in the Korean war prevalent in the United States. Militarily speaking, Britain is more heavily committed in Malaya than in Korea. The universal British desire for a truce in Korea is to be explained more by fear that the war may spread to other parts of the Far East, or divert too much Western strength from the defense of Euope, than by any actual war-weariness. It is considered bad taste to suggest that a truce in Korea may not lead to peace in the Far East, that the choice may lie between fighting the Chinese Communists in Korea and fighting them in Southeast Asia, or that of the two Korea is preferable in most respects.

IT is in South and Southeast Asia that Britain's influence and prestige stand highest, and her policy appears to best advantage. Independence granted to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma, and self-government pro-

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jected for Malaya—these are achievements almost without parallel, of which Britain can be justly proud. If she is accused with some truth of leaving her colonies as she found them, in chaos, she can reply that to have retained control would probably have provoked even worse disorders.

The British attitude toward the newly independent states of South and Southeast Asia is friendly, and their generally neutralist tendencies are regarded with greater tolerance than in the United States. The exception is Thailand (which the British insist on calling Siam), toward which the British government has behaved with considerable spitefulness since the second World War. The nominal reason for this attitude is Thailand's wartime alliance with Japan, but one suspects that an additional cause is the fact that for thirty years Thailand has been ruled by a nationalist government bent on curbing the economic influence not only of Chinese but also of British investors.

Britain's actual and potential contribution to the improvement of living standards in South and Southeast Asia is considerable. The Colombo Plan, the British counterpart of Point Four, is a concerted effort by the members of the British Commonwealth to attack the basic causes of poverty and unrest in this vast area. It was drawn up, to be sure, on the assumption that the United States would cooperate, and Secretary Acheson's refusal to do so must have been a severe discouragement. Nevertheless, work has begun, and as a result dams, power stations, factories, roads, hospitals, and schools are springing up in areas which have never known them before, areas whose allegiance is highly important to the non-Communist world. The BBC has recently undertaken to stimulate the interest of the British public in this work by broadcasting a series of encouraging firsthand accounts of the results achieved. The Colombo Plan is British Far Eastern policy at its best, a program worthy of the nation which showed the world the way to industrialization and taught men how to live in freedom under law.

CATHOLICISM IN AMERICA V

Catholic Separatism

JOHN J. KANE

DO Catholic institutions and organizations segregate American Catholics from the mainstream of the nation's life? Such a question is neither bigoted nor exaggerated. It has been raised recently by both Catholics and non-Catholics. While still at Harvard, James Conant criticized all private education as divisive. Some Catholic critics hold that Catholics tend to live in a cultural ghetto. Protestant publications have charged Catholics with perpetuating a cultural pluralism which they consider evil in a democratic society. The question is so compelling that the Catholic Bishops of America, assembled in their annual conference, considered it. Their statement, it is true, dealt mainly with Catholic schools, but the problem is more complex than this because the Catholic school system is only part of Catholic separatism.

In the United States today, educational institutions under the sponsorship of Catholics range from nursery schools and kindergartens to graduate and professional schools in universities. There are Catholic orphanages, hospitals, social agencies, academic societies, fraternal orders, newspapers, magazines, labor and professional guilds and war veteran associations. Catholics, however, are not unique in this respect. Larger Protestant denominations and Jews operate hospitals, publish papers and periodicals and maintain social agencies. There is a Jewish War Veterans group. There are Lutheran and Seventh Day Adventist parochial schools. If one stops here, he must conclude that all such activities are divisive or none are divisive. But the matter does not rest here.

Catholics are not only a religious group. They are also a minority group. Used in this sense, minority has no meaning in terms of numbers. It refers to the fact that some groups suffer discrimination at the hands of the majority. Jews, Catholics, Negroes and foreigners are generally apt to fall into the minority classification in the United States. Sharpness and extent of discrimination differ with the various groups but all encounter it to some degree. Furthermore, minorities usually try to maintain their culture in the face of an alien culture. One method for such preservation is a partial or wholesale withdrawal. The history of the Jewish people illustrates this point. Often forced into ghettoes, compelled to wear distinctive dress, limited to certain occupations, Jews were thrown back

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upon themselves. A reenforcement of their culture followed.

Catholics are the largest minority in America. But the number and variety of their institutions and organizations cannot be explained solely on this basis. Catholic separatism results from at least three factors: historical accommodations to American life, severity of Catholic persecution by the majority group, and deep philosophical and religious differences with Protestantism and contemporary secularism.

TO understand contemporary parallelisms of secular institutions by Catholics, it is necessary to gain some historical perspective. The ten years extending from about 1840 to 1850 significantly altered the development of Catholicism in the United States. Until this decade American Catholics were mainly of English and French extraction. The Catholic hierarchy was largely French. Both had managed to live in peace within Protestant America. Then the most severe of periodic Irish famines sent thousands from southern Ireland to the United States.

These immigrants were a rural people. Their major occupation was farming, which meant that past experience and skills were useless in an urban environment. Yet they settled in Eastern seaboard cities, largely because of two factors. Acute poverty made it impossible for them to go West in search of cheap land, and attempts to settle Irish immigrants in the West usually met strong clerical opposition. It was feared that such dispersal would mean a loss of the faith because the few priests available could not minister to a scattered flock.

The southern Irish were overwhelmingly Catholic. Yet they settled in a Protestant country. These Irish immigrants came with empty stomachs as a result of famine, and empty purses as a result of poverty. But they brought with them a fear and hatred of things Protestant that had been engendered over centuries of persecution and attempted proselytization by English Protestants. They brought with them a Catholicism that was an odd mixture of religion and nationalism. To be a Catholic was to be a true Irishman. To be an Irishman was to be a true Catholic.

With them came their native Irish clergy to sustain them spiritually and assist them temporally in the new world. For a long time some of these priests had opposed emigration because they feared it would mean a loss of the faith. In the face of famine they had to capitulate and themselves came to America to preserve the faith of the Catholic Irish.

Among Irish immigrants there was a dearth of lay leadership. With very few exceptions the only educated Irish in America were the clergy. Very soon they displaced the more temperate and less fearsome French hierarchy in America. Like members of their flock they were militant Catholics. Here they encountered a militant Protestantism. The two met head on.

Attacks were not long in coming but here an important distinction is necessary. Were the attacks directed primarily at the Irish or at Catholicism? In a sense, perhaps, this distinction is a futile one. Irish and Catholic had become so identified in American minds, as indeed it had earlier in Irish minds, that the mass of people could not differentiate between the two. Yet at the height of the Philadelphia riots when Irish Catholic churches were burned to the ground, even though guarded by militia, a German Catholic church remained unguarded and unattacked although within a few blocks of the actual rioting. It should also be reiterated that by 1840 French and English Catholics appeared to have worked out a *modus vivendi* with their American Protestant neighbors. To what extent were the Irish, as Irish, to blame?

FIRST, they came in large numbers. In the fifteen years after 1839, over seventy-five thousand Irish immigrants entered through the port of Philadelphia alone. In 1850 there were over seventy-two thousand foreign-born Irish in the County of Philadelphia. Within the city limits proper, one out of every five persons was Irish. Almost half of the Irish lived in the southwestern section of the city. In one ward they made up over forty-five per cent of the population. For these reasons they were very visible. They clustered together, largely for economic reasons. Theirs were the most menial of jobs, and they lived close to the docks and freight yards where they worked. Their poverty reduced some of their areas to slums which were cited as public nuisances.

At that time Philadelphia suffered periodic plagues, and popular concern over Irish living habits were intensified by this fact. Fraudulent nationalization methods enabled Irishmen to become citizens and voters almost at once. Tendency to vote one ticket was increased by density in certain wards, making the wardheeler's job an easy one. Rioting was common and not confined to the Irish, but they took part.

A stereotype was created that failed to include the many sterling qualities of these new immigrants, but was not without some basis in fact. On many counts native Americans had reason for concern over the Irish influx, and the Philadelphia picture was repeated in most northeastern cities.

Regardless of these factors, however, religion became the focus of conflict. In the beginning, impoverished Irish Catholics had few schools, orphan asylums or hospitals. To educate their children, to care for

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their sick and parentless and to reform their wayward, they used whatever institutions existed. But whether such institutions were public or private, they were almost overwhelmingly Protestant. By 1840 the Protestant Orphan Society had a virtual monopoly over public education in New York City. It operated over one hundred schools and distributed over one hundred thirty thousand dollars annually, part of which was appropriated by the state common school fund. Ray Allen Billington writes in *The Protestant Crusade*:

> Catholics had a just cause for complaint against this monopoly. The King James version of the Scriptures was read daily in all of the schools of the society and the regular prayers, singing and religious instruction were not in accord with Catholic belief. Particular grounds for complaint existed in the textbooks used in the society's schools: all were blatantly Protestant in sympathy and many were openly disrespectful of Catholicism.

The *Catholic Herald* of Philadelphia charged that systematic kidnapping of Catholic children was occurring in the city. It cited the case of Arthur O'Neil who had been arrested by the "beggar detectives" and turned over to the House of Refuge. This, the paper said, was part of a Protestant plot to proselytize Catholic children.

A month later this same paper stated that the Alms House, Girard College and various homes for friendless children were really Protestant institutions. Prisons and penitentiaries were all anti-Catholic, the paper continued, and priests were not permitted to visit within their walls. It concluded:

> Shall we stand tamely and idly by and permit the children of poor parents to be kidnapped in our streets, perverted in our schools, the aged proselytized in the Alms House and denied the ministrations of a priest in our hospitals?

Catholics were further angered by refusal of officials to grant public funds for the institutions they did establish. The City Council of Philadelphia voted one thousand dollars for the Northern Home for Friendless Children, a Protestant institution, but refused to appropriate funds for a Catholic institution. Pressed for an explanation, the Council said that two-thirds of the money they voted for Protestant institutions went for relief of Catholics. Catholic sources did not deny this but protested that such institutions were used for proselytization of Catholic inmates. Attempts to have a Catholic version of the Bible read in public schools to Catholic children, as was done in Baltimore, resulted in rioting, bloodshed and burning of Catholic churches in Philadelphia.

To preserve their faith and that of their children, the poverty-stricken Irish immigrants had to set up what practically amounted to a set of parallel institutions. Once this method of accommodation was under way, it threatened to grow. In 1869 the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union was formed on a national scale. In words of one ardent supporter who addressed the bishops and clergy of the United States:

> Finally, it [the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union] is destined to become a power in the land, a power that becomes all the more necessary as the country is already inundated with unions, leagues, associations and secret societies that deprive many Catholics of the very means of sustenance.

Reverend John Hennessey, later Bishop of Wichita, envisioned a future in which the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union would have its own bank, an immigrant bank, to secure passage for immigrant families; an immigrant hotel to house them on arrival; agents to meet immigrants at wharves and railroad stations and even their own steamships and employment offices. Even a separate Catholic labor movement came into being because the Knights of Labor were suspect in some Catholic quarters. Cardinal Gibbons intervened with Rome to prevent condemnation of the Knights of Labor, and the Catholic movement ended.

Behind this multiplication of Catholic institutions and organizations were two factors: preservation of the faith and later, hope of increased economic opportunities for Catholics against whom discrimination was still strong. It required a critical situation to bring this parallel system about, but its own inertia could carry it on, even if later it served no great need. But in one sense the germs of its perpetuation were contained in the system. Not only was a Catholic culture preserved, but an Irish Catholic culture was preserved, as distinguished from German or Latin Catholicism. All, of course, are systems of belief in entire agreement with the body of faith and morals known as Roman Catholicism, but there are certain accidental differences.

Among the characteristics of Irish Catholicism is a tendency to Jansenism, a Catholic version of Puritanism. Jansenism was a French heresy, condemned by the Church. Irish priests, many of whom were educated in France, were influenced by this teaching which they in turn passed on to their people.

Another characteristic of Irish Catholicism is an exaggerated reverence for the clergy, notably absent among most Latin Catholics. It was this which Evelyn Waugh criticized when he visited the United States. For years most Irish Catholics had no education except that surreptitiously provided in "hedge schools" by clerical teachers. Priests were almost the only educated persons and as such became leaders, not only in religious, but in almost all matters. In a sense Irish Catholics tended to project onto all priests a sort of infallibility, and unlike papal infallibility, it extended to all matters, sacred and profane.

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Last, Irish Catholicism was interwoven with nationalism. Hope for freedom of Ireland was second only to the hope of eternal salvation. This nationalism involved a hatred of all things English and Protestant, and little distinction was made between the two. In establishing Irish Catholic institutions and organizations to preserve the faith, and later to offset anti-Catholic discrimination, Irish Catholics, perhaps unwittingly, preserved strong elements of this nationalism. Such attitudes were not conducive to cooperation with Protestants, even in matters not involving religion.

IN the past, separatism was an effective method of transmitting and preserving the faith. An Irish Catholic of the last century might well have lived his life and satisfied most of his needs within a Catholic ghetto. Economic adjustment, however, required daily excursions into a Protestant or secular society. Over the years, this narrow gap in the wall has been widened as Catholics have achieved some measure of "vertical mobility."

Today Catholics no longer huddle together in certain sections of a city. City parishes are large and contain diverse elements of the Catholic population. The bonds of nationalism, once helping to cement the parish, have been weakened or obliterated. About half the Catholic children attend non-parochial schools. Mixed marriages appear to be increasing. Some Catholic societies lead a precarious existence in terms of interest and support.

In the past Catholic schools were certainly an effective bulwark of the faith. Today all schools face serious competition with more elaborate and widespread media of communication. Newspapers and magazines have tremendous circulations. Radio and especially television are methods of education that reach more and more people, and reach them during most hours of the day and night. Finally, motion pictures, although perhaps declining in influence, have been and still are an excellent means of communicating ideas. Most of these media not only eschew any denominational line, but tend to be secularistic.

Neither have the consequences of Catholic separatism been entirely satisfactory. True, Catholicism has been preserved. Every wave of Catholic immigration has found well-established institutions, ready to serve it and help it preserve the faith. But Catholic influences on American life have been much less than a Catholic population of almost thirty million might have been expected to make. Furthermore a great deal of it has been negative. Too frequently it has taken the form of protests, picketing of theaters, voting against legislation without pressing for alternative measures to solve problems. So often Catholic attitudes have been all black or white without distinguishing the neutral grays. Mussolini was a great man because he signed a concordat with the Vatican. Franco is acceptable because he does not persecute Catholics. Child labor legislation is opposed because it may threaten the natural rights of parents. All Catholics, of course, have never shared such opinions, but an impression to that effect has been created.

Non-Catholics are almost entirely unaware of the freedom of thought that does exist in Catholicism. There are matters of faith and morals on which complete acceptance is demanded. There are matters so closely related to faith and morals that prudence persuades acceptance. But beyond these are many areas in which no such thing as unanimity of Catholic opinion exists.

TWO conclusions can now be drawn: Catholic separatism, as reflected in a set of parallel institutions, has lost much of its effectiveness in the contemporary world. Its future appears even more dismal.

The increased birthrate following the war is taxing the resources of parochial education. There is some evidence that vocations to the religious life, particularly to sisterhoods, have not maintained an increase proportionate to the population. Lay teachers are expensive, and for a century parochial education has been possible because of vows of poverty taken by the teaching orders.

In higher education, prospects are worse. Few Catholic colleges and universities have endowments; those that do find them meagre by comparison with non-sectarian schools. The cost of equipment, especially scientific laboratories, is tremendous. State aid appears unlikely and the future of small Catholic colleges is in jeopardy. It seems almost inevitable that a larger proportion of Catholic college students will be educated in private, non-sectarian or state universities. Here is a challenge twentieth century Catholicism must prepare to meet.

Catholic separatism tends to lessen or limit Catholic participation in and influence on some aspects of American life. The wall of separatism effectively staved off a militant Protestantism of the last century. It will not defend against an equally militant secularism of the twentieth century. In fact, the wall of separatism has already been breached, and its repair appears doubtful.

The indicated stratagem is a sally. Furthermore it should be remembered that there are allies outside the wall among religiously-minded persons of all faiths. Grave differences separate these allies from each other and from Catholics. But all can join on the basis of what they do share in common without compromising differences. This, it appears, must supplant the American Catholic accommodation of separatism.

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THE STAGE

POETS IN THE THEATER

"THE figure of Merlin:" so has Mr. Cyril Connolly characterized the solitary and enchanted posture of Dylan Thomas in the world of contemporary verse. In "Under Milk Wood," a verse play which had its premiere recently at Manhattan's YMHA under the auspices of Mr. John Malcolm Brinnin and The Poetry Center, the lineaments of this figure were imposed with audacity and brilliance on a form which has proved—so often and tragically—resistant to the pressures of the poetic imagination. Mr. Thomas' triumph over its difficulties seems to me unequivocal. I should warrant that "Under Milk Wood"—even in the winnowing perspective of time—will continue to represent a supremely valuable ordering of personal experience; in the present context of the poetic theatre, it would be malicious to evade the impulse of claiming for it mastery.

It is true that the theatrical scheme of "Under Milk Wood" is minimal; the work appears to have been designed for radio presentation; and so it was delivered by Mr. Thomas and a quite wonderfully adroit and accomplished ensemble of five. Its poetic form is one which has been manipulated with conspicuous success by Browning, by Eliot, and in our own time, Robert Lowell: that of the dramatic landscape with figures. It is defined by a loose rather than a systematic unity, and a dispensation with the scene proper—not capriciously, but because such confinements are inadequate to its scope. What distinguishes it in the contemporary vogue of "readings," however, is the sureness and certainty of its dramatic shape, the very real, legitimate theatrical springs from which it proceeds.

"Under Milk Wood" is a ceremonial portrait of the circle of the day in a small Welsh village. It begins in dreams, the submerged, irrational impulses of the mind; moves with grace into the daylight, waking world, and at the last feeds again to the night its glorious proliferation of life. Mr. Thomas clothes this skeletal shape with an opulent particularity of observed and marvelously apprehended experience. He can convey, at one pole, the randy, irresistible humor of the town hoyden, and at another the sober loss of a mild spirit permanently frosted by fear. The cheerful malice of gossip, the essential bawdry of the man-woman situation: all these are crystallized in an exquisite poetic *pointillisme*.

In the background, held by the poet in a supremely articulate dialectic, is the world of nature—of the sea, the creamy moon, the deep wood and "dogs lying in the wet-nosed grass." But it is love which holds the human figures in the web of tension, which expands until it ultimately involves the spheres of nature and grace: not sexual love alone (though Thomas hymns it always—is, indeed, its only distinguished modern celebrant) but love and sexuality which are the fundamental images of a spiritual situation, nourished by everything which has fed the heart and mind.

Mr. Thomas' bardic, incantatory eloquence with his own verse is notorious, but what pleased about the performance of "Under Milk Wood" was the distinction of his supporting ensemble. Dion Allen, Ray Poole, Allen Collins, but especially Sada Stewart and Nancy Wickwire—though missing the poet's Celtic dimension—matched him in intelligence and feeling, and illumined his play from within. Mr. Brinnin and the YMHA must command our gratitude for the opportunity, and Mr. Thomas for the achievement—an incontestable "affirmation" much more exalted and expensively bought than any of the convenient parables of doom now available, at so easy a price, on the counters of Western society.

IN the program with which the Artists Theatre concluded its current season—a trio of short verse plays by James Merrill, Barbara Guest and John Ashbery—there was no incandescence but grace everywhere, conspicuous talent, wit and occasionally the small green shoots of beauty. Mr. Merrill is quite generally conceded, I believe, to be one of the more impressive young poets, and his play "The Bait" revealed at every juncture a controlled and delicate poetic sensibility. But for this observer at least, Mr. Merrill did not succeed in fusing the ethical preoccupations of his theme (a Jamesian study of intricate deception, complete to the Italian setting) with the stringencies of a theatrical form. His characters never quite broke out of the permanent stasis in which they seemed frozen, and "The Bait" was therefore inadequate either as poetry or theatre. But Mr. Merrill never cheats: he speaks in a tone of modesty and justice, and leaves lingering in the mind a personal distillation—an impression of poetic weight and moral refinement—which promise admirably.

Miss Guest's "The Lady's Choice," unfortunately, left little flavor but that of a neurotic and exacerbated hysteria, yet it had—in Herbert Machiz's excellent staging—a theatrical interest Mr. Merrill rarely achieved. It offered, too, a young actress of remarkable emotional scope and distinctive personality in Miss Anne Meacham. But Mr. Ashbery's "The Heroes," which closed the evening, is a winner all the way. A brilliant little charade on classical themes, it bristles throughout with the echoes of mythology, holding all in the allusive net of a mocking and irreverent sensibility. Cultivated without pedantry, witty but never vulgar, Mr. Ashbery placated at one stroke the de-

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mands of poetry, the theatre and the audience. An incidental observation: is there something more than coincidence in the fact that two such first-rate major and minor works as "Under Milk Wood" and "The Heroes" find their real sources of vitality in a sunny and humane—even humorous—temperament? I submit the conjecture, for what it is worth, to those grim analysts of "trends" who so profusely decorate the contours of our present literary landscape.

RICHARD HAYES.

THE SCREEN

MOVIES' ANSWER TO MOVIES

FOR a while there it really looked as if 3-D might be movies' answer to television; and it is still possible that a good film enhanced by the extra dimension or wide screen or stereophonic sound could win customers away from their T-V sets and into the theater. Of course any really good film even without added tricks can still do that; so it's about time that Hollywood stopped playing around with 3-D, using it as a cover-up for mediocre plots.

Technically, "Sangaree," the newest item to be seen through polaroid glasses, is the best yet. Its story, set in Georgia shortly after the American Revolution, has been handsomely decorated with costumes and sets in good Technicolor; and its 3-D effects are for the most part used well without trying to be too tricky. A couple of ballroom scenes, with cotillions being danced, effectively give the illusion of depth; and in another scene hero Fernando Lamas throws a beer keg at his assailant and you find yourself ducking when the keg seems to be coming right out at you. In some of the scenes you are hardly aware of the 3-D at all except for your polaroid glasses.

Plotwise, "Sangaree" is the same old malarky. I wonder why its producers (William H. Pine and William C. Thomas who specialize in remunerative adventure films and melodramas) bothered to collect such a fancy cast. Lamas plays a doctor, the son of an indentured servant, who becomes the head of a large estate and who hopes to put over some advanced ideas in the way of clinics, schools and good wages. He is snobbishly opposed by the heiress (Arlene Dahl). She meets Lamas by posing as a servant and gets involved in a love scene that shows the vulgar possibilities of 3-D along this line. The plot becomes so complicated that even the scriptwriters can't write themselves out of it. And when Dr. Lamas operates on Miss Dahl's brain, you agree with him that she'll probably never know the difference.

QUITE in contrast, "Man on a Tightrope" is a picture with a really good idea. It also happens to have a good director (Elia Kazan), a good scriptwriter (Robert E. Sherwood) and a good cast who were willing to go to Europe to film this story of a circus' escape from behind the Iron Curtain. It is based on fact. "Man on a Tightrope" tells how the Circus Cernik couldn't stand following the party line in Czechoslovakia.

Fredric March as the circus manager is beset not only with troubles from the police but personal problems as well. His wife (Gloria Grahame), for example, carries on with the lion tamer (Alexander D'Arcy). Under Kazan's skillful direction the circus scenes are effectively contrasted with the secret police interrogations. Adolphe Menjou, in an excellent performance as an official from the Propaganda Ministry, and Fredric March are at their best. Only at times does the picture become melodramatic. The evils of Communism are well integrated into the plot. "Man on a Tightrope" is a good thriller even without its well-made political points.

THE same cannot be said about "Never Let Me Go," which tries much more obviously to be anti-Communist and succeeds neither as a movie nor as a diatribe. Its story concerns an American newspaper correspondent in Moscow (Clark Gable) who marries a Russian ballerina (Gene Tierney). Gable is then kicked out of Russia and has to rescue his wife.

This project, in which Clark is assisted by Richard Haydn, who is on a similar mission, and by Bernard Miles, an English sailor who knows the Baltic Sea, gets so hopped up with excitement that it is hard to take it seriously. When Gable wanders around a Russian coastal town in a Russian general's uniform looking for his wife, the picture seems like something left over from Richard Harding Davis.

THERE is a new Italian picture now on our screens. "Cinderella" is a film version of the comic opera by Rossini. The Orchestra and Chorus of the Rome Opera Company did the music very well. Cinematically, it's something else again. Director Fernando Cerchio tried to get some movement into the static script, but the demands of opera were too much for him. Some of the sets, for which a real palace was used, are quite beautiful, and pretty Lori Randi makes Cinderella someone to watch. As the Prince, Gino Del Signore is as lively as one of the statues in his courtyard. Since this is a comic opera Director Cerchio might have tried to get his cast to whoop it up a bit. The whole thing is played with a deadly seriousness. But, then, music lovers may not mind.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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COMMUNICATIONS

"THE FINALY CASE"

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: M. Barrat's article on the Finaly case [May 8, 1953], although interesting was, in my opinion, contradictory, inaccurate, and incomplete. His conclusions surely fall on consideration of his own statement of the facts, and, indubitably, on a correct statement of them.

A full account of the case was set forth in an article by David Lambert, prominent member of the French Bar, in a recent issue of *Evidences,* French language magazine published by the Paris office of the American Jewish Committee. This article is the source of my comments for the most part.

First, it is necessary to point out that the relatives of the Finaly family deeply appreciated the services rendered by Mlle. Brun during the Occupation, and offered to recoup her for her expenses.

Second, it is clear that the children were claimed by their relatives from early 1945, when they were two and a half and four, respectively, and had been with Mlle. Brun little more than a year. While admitting the substance of this crucial fact in one paragraph M. Barrat can, inexplicably, write in another, "If she [Mlle. Brun] had been asked to give the boys back right after the Liberation, there is little doubt that she would have done so."

M. Barrat displays a similar carelessness with other facts. Here are a few:

"Dr. Finaly had his sons circumcised as a racial rather than a religious act." Nazi propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no such thing as a Jewish race. Circumcision could only be either a religious or a hygienic act. If mere hygiene were involved, there was no need for Dr. Finaly, a medical practitioner, to have called in a "mohel," the religious personage solely authorized by Jewish law to perform circumcisions. [In the original French, M. Barrat was commending Dr. Finaly for this courageous act, whereby he affirmed his solidarity with the Jewish community.—The Editors.]

"Dr. Finaly . . . actually obtained that [French] nationality for Robert." According to French law, children of foreigners born in France *automatically* become French citizens. In this respect, French law is similar to our own.

"She had had the children baptized at a moment when she believed she was going to keep them. Why then would she not use every legal means to defend what she believed to be her rights?" The baptism occurred in 1948 during a period in which innumerable acts of the family, French officials and responsible organizations like the Red Cross had taken place and were being taken, all designed to return the children to their family. "Legal means" should have excluded perjury, contempt of court and "illicit detention." The highest French court has, within recent weeks, determined Mlle. Brun to have committed the crime of "illicit detention," a crime punishable by five years' imprisonment.

"In November 1948, anxious to comply with the law, Mlle. Brun got in touch with a Jewish citizen of Grenoble to bring together a family council for the purpose of naming her the boys' guardian." The first family council was called by Mlle. Brun in November 1945, not 1948. Her good faith may be judged by the fact that at the very time that she was arranging to be named "temporary guardian" by the "family council" she was writing to Mme. Fischel: "In the interest of your nephews it would be better to wait a little longer, when traveling will be much easier, so that a member of the family might come here and recover all that belongs to the children. This certainly would cover the expenses of the trip. . . ." and she ended the statement with her assurance that "Your nephews are Jews, that means that they belong to their original religion." In January 1949 Mlle. Brun called a meeting of a new "family council," composed only of her own close friends, and had herself again declared temporary guardian. This council was declared invalid by the courts, Mlle. Brun's affidavit (to justify the council) being found false in many respects. A third family council was formed in July 1949. It directed (both in 1949 and in 1950) that the children be sent to Mrs. Rossner.

This decision of the third family council was upheld by the French Court of Appeal in 1952. Yet Mlle. Brun in 1949 refused to abide by the decision of the third family council in 1949, and again in 1952, when she declared, "I refuse to indicate the place where the children are. I refuse to submit to the decision of the Court of Appeal." Following this extraordinary statement, there began the whole unbelievable and tragic sequence whereby the children were spirited, in defiance of the civil and criminal law of France and the duly constituted authorities, from one religious order to another, and finally, across the border into Spain, where they now are.

"After the war the Vatican returned to the Jewish community a number of Jewish children baptized under such conditions. . . . There is nothing to indicate that private negotiations carried on discreetly . . . would not have resulted in a somewhat similar arrangement." The Grand Rabbi of France and others negotiated privately for several weeks with Catholic authorities, with no results.

I have practiced law for twenty-three years, yet I find it hard to conceive the heartaches, effort and expense caused the Finaly family by all the litigation,

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representations and proceedings which the family has been forced to undertake to recover the custody of the children, as the children's father desired it. I understand that seventeen French nationals, including six priests and two nuns, are now either in jail or out on bail, and that the Bishop of Bayonne has defended Mlle. Brun's actions. At the same time, the writer is appreciative of the fact that, according to M. Barrat, the Bishop of Grenoble and the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyon took the opposite view, consonant with the law of France.

It is difficult for a non-Catholic to appreciate that the Church, which indubitably finds its central authority at Rome for its faithful adherents, could not act forcefully to remedy a great injustice, such as that involved in this matter.

My position is that this is a case to be settled by civil law—the law of the land—the kind of law upon which all persons, all minorities, including the Catholic minority in non-Catholic countries, must depend, for their fundamental rights. It is on this basis that I think the case should be considered.

ROBERT STERLING.

"THE REAL WORLD OF SCIENCE FICTION"

Benson, Vt.

TO the Editors: In his recent article [June 12, 1953], Seymour Krim expresses the hope that skillful men of letters will adopt the devices of Science Fiction as vehicles for serious writing. "Instead of boyish and melodramatic excursions into the future which the S-F writers give us, our best artists can, and I believe ultimately will, use this 'third dimension' of fiction for the highest adult and literary purposes."

He makes no reference to Mr. C. S. Lewis, who has already done this in at least two stories of the first class, *Out of the Silent Planet* and *Perelandra.* These stories are ostensibly accounts of journeys to Mars and to Venus in space ships of various kinds. Actually they are adult, purposeful, and highly effective discussions of the problem of Evil, diabolic possession, the nature of the Fall, of angels, Emergent Evolution, and many other matters of importance, including the literature of Space Travel itself.

I can only suppose that Mr. Krim has not seen these books, and envy him the literary and metaphysical banquet that is ahead of him.

GRAHAM CAREY.

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BOOKS

Two Kinds Of War

WILLIAM PFAFF

WAR is not a perverse game, nor an aberration. That is the tragedy of it. Its logic can be so compelling that the people who sign Oxford peace pledges in the evening find their logic puts them to rolling a Spitfire across rutted tarmac in the dawn. Conscientious objectors find their society permits them to drink beer while the less conscientious die violently, and their logic is bloodied. War can be a sort of poetry of life, in that combat burns clear the extraneous; a man lives on what is at the core. That does not always work, but neither does poetry. It is objected that war is a poetry man is not made for, and a poetry which has black ancestry. But history has regularly presented it to us, and we have regularly accepted it: with the professionalism of a Rommel, or the resignation of the Americans of the Eighth Army in Korea; with despair, or excitement, or with humility.

In the American army today there are few volunteers. The Infantry is largely made up of the unlucky. The inarticulate, stubborn courage of this reluctant army is given proper words in Brigadier General S. L. A. Marshall's book *The River and the Gauntlet* [Morrow. $5.].

The men who reached the Chongchon River in North Korea in November, 1950 had the casualness of victors. The disquiet felt at Eighth Army Headquarters over the appearance at Unsan of individual Chinese "volunteers" had not filtered down to the troops, and the Command felt that too much talk about possible Chinese intervention would have a bad effect on the still-shaky ROKs. As a result the men were careless about how much ammunition they carried. They left bulky clothing and equipment to come up with the cooks. They took up night positions with little or no scouting, and sometimes, because of exhausting day marches, moved into spots which their better judgment would have told them to avoid, and scooped out only the shallowest foxholes.

General Marshall, one of the ablest military writers alive, describes what happened from the 25th of November forward. At 1030 hours that day Baker Company of the 9th Infantry, 2nd Division, halfway up Hill 219 on the east bank of the Chongchon, was struck by a half-dozen Chinese grenadiers. The Chinese intervention had begun, and with it, the new war.

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This book is not written as a sermon to the home folks, and contains no high-pitched drama. General Marshall relates in exact detail the events of the intervention against the 2nd and 25th Divisions, and the subsequent withdrawal of the 2nd into the Kaechon Valley. In doing so he magnificently captures the terror-laden isolation and vulnerability of the Infantry action of those days. He is best read with a map, because he is precise in everything he says and makes no compromises to the casual reader.

He tells what happened to individual squads and to individual soldiers. His story is made up from accounts of survivors. The pattern which emerges is a study of what devastation an unorthodox enemy can do to a mobile, well-armed, almost wholly uninformed force. Marshall makes it clear that the Americans walked into the mountains of the Yalu totally without adequate intelligence. If higher authorities, either in Tokyo or

in Washington, knew the Chinese intentions or capabilities, this information was not transmitted to the tactical units; and the tactical units were sadly lacking in agents, photo-interpreters and the other personnel essential to tactical intelligence. The Chinese pricked the UN Force in separated, distracting points, causing worry, confusing commanders. Their main body meanwhile passed through the two divisions like water going through a rock pile.

An Jong Sup was a ROK soldier serving with George Company of the 38th Infantry. He was the only man who survived the fate of his platoon, and what he saw indicates the character of those weird nights when the Chinese were first making contact.

His platoon had exchanged fire with a Chinese force, and then moved its position in the hope that the larger Chinese group would miss it in the dark. After half an hour or so, three Chinese came out into the moonlight some fifty yards from the platoon's new position. The Chinese were unarmed—but carried flutes. For five minutes they played the flutes. Then three separate chains of Chinese arose from behind the rocks and moved into the open, passing around and around the flutists like ritual dancers.

This nightmare continued until the nerve of a UN soldier cracked, and he fired. The Chinese dropped back into cover. A bugle sounded. Overwhelming small-arms fire was laid on the Americans and South Koreans. Sup was the only man who lived.

The retreat through the "gauntlet," the valley road taken by the encircled 2nd Division to reach the friendly lines of the British Brigade, is a story that no reader is likely to forget. This battered, limping division, its communications quite gone, bulled its way along a road littered with broken vehicles and the dead, with the Chinese holding the heights on both sides. It would have been easier here to give up and die, but move they did, and at last the 2nd reached the British. Some three thousand casualties paid the ransom for the escape.

FIELD Marshal Rommel's book is something else entirely. [*The Rommel Papers*. Edited by B. H. Liddell Hart. Harcourt, Brace. $6.] Here is war the logical problem, the intellectual exercise. Rommel's idea of command was to take personal charge of the lead battalion, or even the lead tank in attack. He probably spent as much time under fire as any officer in his command. But in this collection of his battle commentaries and letters, personal danger is hardly mentioned. When it is, it sounds like a commuter's account of today's inconveniently crowded train.

Rommel reveals much of himself in this collection. He had a brilliant mind, but as limited a one as a philologist. He wrote lucidly and forcibly, conscious of the future's historians. But contemporary history broke through the discipline of his own mind only near the end, and living up to its demands as best he was able, he died for it.

The Field Marshal believed in offensive warfare. "In static warfare, victory goes to the side which can fire more ammunition." His kind of war was made possible by the tank and truck, and when the tanks and trucks were immobilized by gasoline shortages during the great North African retreat, Rommel had no choice but to fight an infantry retreat, and he lost.

His doctrine of war was also that of Captain Liddell Hart, his editor, and the notes conscientiously point out what an admiring pupil the British writer had in the German Field Marshal. Liddell Hart generously returns the compliment: "the theory of *Blitzkrieg* . . . had been conceived in England . . . the quickness with which [Rommel] grasped it and the way he developed it showed his fresh-mindedness and innate conceptive power."

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Rommel had a sensible distrust of quartermasters, holding that their estimates were inevitably based on past performance, and had little relation to what they were capable of with a Field Marshal Rommel goading them. And it was indeed the supply problem which precipitated his defeat in Africa. When he reached Alamein, Rommel's equipment was up to eighty-five per cent British materiel. His command vehicle was British. His columns looked so British that stragglers from the other side sometimes joined up by mistake.

During the first eight months of 1942, the months preceeding the British victory at Alamein, Rommel's supplies totaled forty per cent of his "absolute minimum needs." When the British attacked, he could muster hardly enough gasoline to move rearward, certainly not enough for a comprehensive counterattack. Of course, the more Rommel talks about his supply problems, the faster shrinks the role of the 'incomprehensibly cautious' Montgomery. Rommel makes up to Montgomery at the end, saying "It would be difficult to accuse Montgomery of ever having made a serious strategic mistake." "His principle was to fight no battle unless he knew for certain that he would win it." This was not playing the game the way Rommel would have liked it played, but the genius of Montgomery lay just there, in forcing Rommel to the British rules. And it was Rommel who failed and Montgomery whose army lost not a battle from Alamein to Italy.

Rommel knew when the war in Africa was lost. The Italian Commando Supremo and Hitler's headquarters refused to listen to him, giving him congratulations and their confidence instead of arms, gasoline and aircraft. And when he asked them to recognize the size of the disaster, and to prepare for a complete withdrawal from Africa, they gave wildly unreal orders to stand and fight.

When the first such order came, in November, 1942, at Fuka in Egypt, Rommel said, "we were completely stunned, and for the first time during the African campaign I did not know what to do. A kind of apathy took hold of us as we issued orders for all existing positions to be held on instructions from the highest authority. I forced myself to this action, as I had always demanded unconditional obedience from others and, consequently, wished to apply the same principle to myself. Had I known what was to come, I should have acted differently, because from that time on, we had continuously to circumvent orders from the Fuehrer or Duce in order to save the army from destruction."

THE slowly-gained insight into Hitler broke down many of the walls in Rommel's mind. He had rolled through France in the early months of the war sending home notes which were as excited and pleased as those of a schoolboy on a triumphant basketball tour. War was his business. Why war existed was not.

It is hard, and unfair, to judge him entirely on this book because he had the obvious prudence to dispose of incriminating papers and voice dutiful salutations to Hitler in his letters. But fragments remain, and they show that Rommel became convinced that Germany had to come to terms with the West in order to keep the Soviets out. And there was more in his mind than expediency. Hitler had said to him, "if the German people are incapable of winning the war, then they can rot." In 1943, Rommel's son Manfred told of his desire to enter the *SS*. "That's out of the question," Rommel snapped. Under no circumstances, he told his son, did he want Manfred under the command of a man who "according to his information was carrying out mass killings."

Rommel's mind did not operate in the sands of ideology and morality as it did when the problems were those of map and tank. In 1943, in Africa, a letter to his wife contained these plaintive lines: "It's spring outside, blossoming trees and meadows, sunshine. The world could be so beautiful for all men. Such infinite possibilities exist to make them contented and happy. There is so much that could be done. . . ."

So much Rommel did not do. His part in the plot against Hitler, however, was the act of a decent man, who had compassion for his country. He died quietly, to save his wife and son.

His lesson is plain. He lacked the solemn reach of personality which would have brought from him a line such as this from another great desert tactician, T. E. Lawrence: "The dead men looked wonderfully beautiful. The night was shining gently down, softening them into new ivory. . . . The corpses seemed flung so pitifully on the ground, huddled anyhow in low heaps. Surely if straightened they would be comfortable at last. So I put them all in order, one by one, very wearied myself, and longing to be one of these quiet ones. . . ." Here is something more than decency. Here is the meaningful distinction between Rommel and Lawrence—a distinction which not many soldiers find, but one which makes all the difference.

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Art for Art's Sake

THE MAN WHISTLER. By Hesketh Pearson. Harper. $3.75.

By ANNE FREMANTLE

FEW men have ever lived their lives so completely on their own terms as James Abbott Whistler. He decided he didn't like his middle name, as it reminded him of New England, so he sloughed it, and took instead his mother's maiden name, which he found sympathetically southern. He even amended his birthplace, and sometimes chose Baltimore, and sometimes (on oath, in a law court) Saint Petersburg, Russia—never mentioning Lowell, Massachusetts, where his birth actually took place. His grandfather and his father had been soldiers, and "Jimmy" went to West Point. There his career was brief. Asked what silicon was, he replied "a gas" —"Had silicon been a gas, I would have been a general" he commented later. At twenty-one he left America, never to return. His mother paid his fare to London, promised him three hundred dollars a year in quarterly instalments on which to study painting, kissed him and let him go.

He traveled first class to Paris and once there, he borrowed a fellow-student's tails to dine at the American Embassy, yet lived among French students so poor they painted on their walls the furniture they didn't have. He was as poor as they. Walking from Cologne to Paris on an etching trip, he and a friend paid their way with portraits, and reached their destination with Whistler's evening pumps—he never wore anything else on his feet all his life—in ribbons. Later in life he was to get thousands of dollars for pictures such as he had sold in his early days for an egg or a glass of milk. But his zest was the same, and his dedication while working, whether on an etching, a brief sketch, or on one of his most elaborate "arrangements." Utterly serious as an artist, he led a second life as a wit.

In Paris he danced all night, lay abed until noon, lived briefly with

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—*Chapter XVII,* THE DIES COMMITTEE

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his models, and did a tremendous amount of etching and of painting. His chief cronies were Fantin-Latour and Legros, and all three drank in Courbet's wisdom. He never cluttered his life, always traveling light, and living in barely furnished rooms, which looked as though he either were just moving in, or out. In place of the bric-a-brac cluttered Victorian interiors then fashionable, he whitewashed his walls, or painted them in pale yellows and blues.

It was he who started the mode for Oriental etchings, paintings, hangings and porcelains. His famous blue china, his "screens, pots, plates, jars, joss houses, and all the fortuitous frippery of Fusiyama" as Swinburne called it, became the rage, and he was the first great interior decorator. He was the first too, to see beauty in the smoky chimneys and factory buildings along the Thames, and was the first painter in England to abandon realism. As Shakespeare was a bridge between the Old World and the New, so Whistler was a bridge between England and France, between the Cinerama-techniqued Pre-Raphaelites and the new glory of the French Impressionists. Whistler refused to allow any one of his pictures to be saddled with a message, or named by any symbolic name, calling them simply Nocturnes, Symphonies, or Arrangements.

Hesketh Pearson has written one of the most amusing biographies imaginable. It is a period piece and could not be more enjoyable. All Whistler's famous mots, and all his famous fights are here, with John Ruskin, Sir Timothy Eden, with Oscar Wilde, and Swinburne, and with lesser fry. We are shown Whistler cooking, Whistler hanging art-shows to astonish the bourgeois, Whistler snubbing the peerage, and are given glimpses, too, of the giant who wore out his sitters with long hours, and seventy or eighty sittings, and often tore up or painted over things he had worked long upon simply because they would not come up to scratch. Pearson shows Whistler defending "art for art's sake" and fighting for the true "seriousness" of the artist in a way that perhaps no one did except his fellow punster Oscar Wilde. It is perhaps symptomatic of the upholstered, Sundayfied attitude to art of Victorian times, that no artist then dared to be wholly serious unless he were also a Court Jester. Respectability, the apotheosis of middle-class opulentsia, did for Victorian England what tyranny had done for the Oriental and often for the medieval mind. Only a jester dared mention the naked truth.

Less appreciated as "an artist of fulfillment at the age of fifty than he had been as an artist of promise at twenty-five," Whistler, perhaps not unnaturally, mocked a society that loved him for his wit, pandered to his poses, but preferred Sir Frederick Leighton as a painter. The total lovableness, humility and generosity of the little, seemingly conceited, cocky dandy that James McNeill Whistler was shines through this biography, above all in his devotion to the less successful of his confreres, in his love for his wife, and in his dedication to whatever work he understood.

Mr. Pearson attributes Whistler's delight in quarreling to his "nation-starved nature" but does not provide much evidence for this lack in the artist. Nothing prevented Whistler from returning to the States, or from becoming either a British subject or a French citizen, had he so wished. On the other hand everything seems to point to his having enjoyed his catholicity of countries, nor did he give, in writing or in recorded talk, any evidence of having felt an exile, a DP, or stateless. He rather seems to have felt himself truly a citizen of the one world of art and artists, and to have despised the *profanum vulgus* of every single and separate nation.

The Building of a Bridge

SELECTION I: A Yearbook of Contemporary Thought in Anthropology, Biblical Study, Psychology, Philosophy, Theology, Biology. Edited by Cecily Hastings and Donald Nicholl. Sheed & Ward. $3.

By JOHN W. SIMONS

IN the Gifford Lectures of 1947 Mr. Christopher Dawson stressed the point that "the experience of transcendence" is a legitimate area of inquiry for the natural theologian. Philosophers and scientists "may say that any feelings we may have beyond our bodily processes are but the experience of our own conscious processes, or if, as more commonly, they admit the importance of a psychological region below the surface of consciousness, they may say that this is nothing but the irrational substratum of man's animal nature. But men of religious experience—the saints and the sages—have always taught that the further man penetrates into the depth of his consciousness and of what lies below his consciousness, the nearer he approaches the spiritual reality."

The editors of *Selection I*, a yearbook of contemporary thought, have endeavored to establish a fruitful dialogue between the contemporary theologian and the contemporary scientist. The dialogue has been effected chiefly through the mediation of anthropology and psychology—the two sciences most obvious and assertive in this stimulating symposium. Myth, ritual, and the dream symbol are pressed into service in such a way as to win over the Catholic to a less nervous inspection of the natural sciences, and to win over the sceptic to a less mean-spirited confrontation of the Christian mysteries.

In this unconventional apologetic the two central essays are "The Mythical Dimension of Baptism," by the French Jesuit, Louis Beirnaert, and "Factors in the Stages of Moral Development," by the noted Charles Baudouin. The former attempts to show that "the symbolism of burial and motherhood in the waters of Baptism shows that they have a reference to the mythical waters of anthropogenesis

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and cosmogenesis." The dimension is real but "set in a religious context which gives it an absolutely new meaning." Father Beirnaert maintains his thesis by a constant cross-reference between the Jungian archetypes and the symbolic catechesis of the Fathers.

M. Baudouin presents a theory of factors (or synergies) which in his estimation constitute the human psyche. These factors are seven in number and bear startling resemblances to the seven stages or mansions of spiritual development set forth in Saint Teresa's *Interior Castle*. M. Baudouin, like Father Beirnaert, is cautious, and he warns us that the relationship between his clinical findings and Teresian doctrine is purely analogical. The relationship is remarkable enough to persuade him that supernatural development and natural ethical development employ the same psychological mechanisms.

In both these essays, as well as in Father Victor White's "The Scandal of the Assumption" and S.M.A.'s "God is our Mother," there is a daring effort to show that man, while he is not continuous with nature, is thoroughly immersed in nature and cannot, even when elevated to the supernatural state, sever his ties with nature. The lesson is not a new one, for it has long been a commonplace of theology that "Grace supposes nature." What our essayists attempt is to point to a kind of twilight area where the natural and supernatural seem to converge.

The other nine essays deal with various aspects of biology, philosophy, and Biblical studies. Joseph Kalin's up-to-the-minute summary "On the Origin of Man" stresses two points—man's lack of functional determinism (which places him at an infinite remove from the brute animal), and the inadequacy of current paleontology to give a coherent evolutionary account of man's age and origin. The correspondence between Harnack and Peterson dramatizes the dilemma of modern Protestantism in an acute and tragic form.

The present symposium brings together some of the finest thinking in contemporary Europe. It is altogether lacking in that scholarly timidity which sometimes amuses, sometimes alarms, the uncommitted scholar. The essays seem to me to be at their best when, as in Kalin's case, they keep close to the formal object and methodology of their respective sciences. Others, fascinating and plausible, still lean heavily on approximations, analogies, and interpretations. They are suggestive rather than probative, and at times tend to reify subjective experiences.

Underground

NEW RUSSIAN STORIES. Translated by B. G. Guerney. New Directions. $3.75.

By HELENE ISWOLSKY

QUESTIONS are often asked on this side of the Iron Curtain about Soviet literature. Even in a detailed analysis, the answers could not easily be given, but a few main features can be noted. Soviet lit-

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erature was born in 1918-1919 under the impact of so-called "military Communism" and civil war. Later it was directed toward the NEP—"New Economic Policy." As a literary trend this was short-lived, and was soon supplanted by the Five Year Plan ideology: the intensive collectivization and depersonalization of the Soviet people.

With the second World War and the invasion of Russia came an outburst of literary "Soviet Patriotism." When victory came, the government switched back to the old party line. "Anti-cosmopolitism" and anti-Americanism became the main directives, and Soviet literature shrunk almost to nonentity.

This book is a most welcome contribution to the study of contemporary Russian literature. Mr. Guerney is not only a brilliant translator but a well-informed and lucidly aware student of the trends of Russian writing. It is his exceptional merit to have discovered in the multitude of party line works stories written spontaneously, without propaganda twists and distortions; stories offering true human values, drama, tragedy and poetry from the hidden underground of Russian culture.

Among the authors in this collection of sixteen stories is Maxim Gorky, an almost classic figure, and an attractive one. Here is Vsevolod Ivanov, intimately linked with the first period: military Communism and revolutionary upheavel not only in European but in Asiatic Russia. And here is another author of that period, I. I. Babel, who wrote one of the "straightest" collections of war tales ever published in Russia. Each author selected by Mr. Guerney deserves a special approach, for each is talented; each in one way or another had a dramatic tussle with party

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line directives or suffered elimination from "corrected and approved Soviet literature."

One of the authors in this collection, Boris Pasternak, can today only publish translations. He is putting Shakespeare into Russian, and his own voice is silenced. Pilnyak and Babel have mysteriously vanished. Zamyatin long ago became *persona non grata in* Soviet Russia and died abroad in 1932. The humorist, Michael Zoschenko, has been purged and reduced to silence. The Soviet reader must miss his poking fun at the ironies of every-day life in Russia.

Especially worth recommendation are "Second Lieutenant Likewise," by Yury Tynianiv, one of the masters of the Russian historical novel, and "Ratcatcher" by Alexander Grin (Grinevsky), a remarkable writer reflecting both Russian trends and the work of such Westerners as Poe and Kafka, who in turn influenced an entire generation of Russian writers and poets. "Ratcatcher" is in my opinion the most startling and beautifully written piece in this collection.

REVIEWERS

The Rev. John W. Simons is a member of the faculty at Saint Charles Seminary in Overbrook, Pennsylvania.

Helene Iswolsky is the author of *Soul of Russia* and a member of the Institute of Contemporary Russian Studies at Fordham University.

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